



Your Duty on Display’:

The Allied War Exhibition in Chicago, the State Council of Defense, and the Role of the State in Defining American Identity

Josh Fulton

Northern Illinois University / Moraine Valley Community College

They have Chicago sweethearts—until said C.S.’s see them in German uniforms. Then the stuff’s off. They just won’t be seen strolling around the place with German soldiers and the first thing the poor make-believe boche knows, his girl is strolling with some soldier in O.D.¹

War trophies from the battlegrounds of the Western Front dominated the Allied War Exposition, which was held in Grant Park on Chicago’s lakefront from September 2 to 15, 1918. Demonstrating the “realities” of war for some 100,000 onlookers daily, army units from nearby Camp Grant performed re-enactments of trench warfare while faux artillery sounded and new-fangled warplanes flew overhead. In an article on September 6, 1918, the *Chicago Daily News* pointed out the displeasure of some participants. Six hundred enlisted men from Camp Grant had to play the role of the “Fritzies,” and the women of Chicago wanted nothing to do with them as a result.²

Publicly emasculated for appearing in German uniform, the men from Camp Grant and the Allied War Exposition symbolize Chicago’s and Illinois’ engagement with the public in a display conveying the meaning of the government’s war effort. The Exposition was a joint venture between federal, state, and local officials originating with the U. S. Committee on Public Information (CPI), overseen through the State Council of Defense of Illinois in conjunction with a committee of prominent Chicagoans. The event and its leaders instructed visitors that their visit represented their assent in an ongoing conversation between allied governments and publics on the purpose of the war. Speaking at the exhibition’s opening, Samuel Insull, chair of the State Council of Defense of Illinois noted the event offered “a better understanding of the needs of your Government and above all for a better understanding of your duty.”³ Insull and Illinois’ State Council of Defense (a branch of the National Council) worked tirelessly beginning in 1917 to oversee those needs, and to instruct the citizens of Illinois on how to carry out their duties in support of the war. The former’s efforts reflected the centralizing efforts of the U. S. government

¹ “Nobody Loves a Fritz! Chicago Lassies Scorn Even Make-believe Heinies at War Show,” *Chicago Daily News*, September 6 1918, 1.

² *Ibid.*, 1.

³ “Mr. Insull, Opening of War Exposition, September 2, 1918,” series 6, folder 20-5, Papers of Samuel Insull, Loyola University Chicago Archives, 6.



to define the mission of the war (a “civilized” allies defeat of the “barbarous” Germany and its supporters), and balance between coercion and vigilantism in support of the cause.⁴

Speaking at another event on February 23, 1918, Insull articulated a “civil” American war effort as anti-German by definition. He proclaimed “those who question the righteousness of America’s cause...speak with a German accent,” and “there is no god but power, and Prussia is his profit” remained the creed of Germany.⁵ Thus, public and private groups at the exhibition hoped visitors would view their displays as defense of that “righteousness.” The YMCA, YWCA, Training Camp Association, and other voluntary organizations had booths at the exhibition to model their contributions to the allied war effort. “Appendages of the nation-state,” these organizations aligned their war efforts with reflecting the civilizing mission of the U. S. in the war.⁶ Their stalls featured young women in service roles like YWCA hostesses, Red Cross nurses, and Food Administration/Women’s Committee workers; juxtaposed against the efforts of male soldiers reenacting battle scenes of the western front, their positions reinforced the message that the natural innocence of those soldiers through the horrors of war was preserved through their volunteering. Representing the “voluntarism” that President Woodrow Wilson demanded, these organizations segregated members and thoroughly supported the gendered notions of the war’s objectives.⁷

A vast historiography exists on a variety of aspects of the Great War, with recent forays into the American home front experience emphasizing anti-Germanism, forms of violence, and the relationship between the citizen and the state in the process of the war (mainly David Kennedy and Christopher Capozzola).⁸ Scholars have examined Great War commemoration and cultural

⁴ For more on coercive American U. S. homefront efforts, see David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (1980); Christopher Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (2008); Gerald Shenk, *“Work or Fight!” Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One* (2005) Susan A. Brewer, *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq* (2009). On coercive homefront efforts laced with anti-labor and anti-Germanism in Illinois, see Tina Stewart Brakebill, “From ‘German Days’ to ‘100 Percent Americanism’: McLean County, Illinois 1913-1918: German Americans, World War One, and One Community’s Reaction,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 95, no. 2 (Summer, 2002): 148-171; David Dechenne, “Recipe for Violence: War Attitudes, the Black Hundred Riot, and Superpatriotism in an Illinois Coalfield, 1917-1918,” *Illinois Historical Journal* 85, no. 4 (Winter, 1992): 221-238.

⁵ Samuel Insull, “Speech of Samuel Insull: Offsetting German Propaganda,” February 23 1918, series 6, folder 20-4, Papers of Samuel Insull, Loyola University Chicago Archives, 1, 3.

⁶ Chris Capozzola, *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 92.

⁷ Capozzola, 88-93.

⁸ For more on America’s conduct in the Great War and the political homefront, see Ronald Shaffer, *America in the Great War: The Rise of the War Welfare State* (1994); John Keegan *The First World War* (1999); Jennfer Keene, *Doughboys: The Great War and the Remaking of America* (2001); Bill Mills, *The League: The True Story of Average Americans on the Hunt for WWI Spies* (2013); Stephen J. Gross, “‘Perils of Prussianism’: Main Street German America, Local Autonomy, and the Great War.” *Agricultural History* 78, no. 1 (Winter, 2004): 78-116; Matthew Pratt Guterl “The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910-1925,” *Journal of World History*



reclamations of memory in earnest since Paul Fussell's *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975), and since the same period scholars have more frequently included gender in the analysis of those memories.⁹ While scholars have examined commemoration, home fronts, gender and the state—such examinations in the United States are lacking. This paper seeks to fill that gap, placing the process of the Allied War exhibition within the context of these discussions of masculinity and state authority in the U. S. Voluntarism and vigilantism intersected at the exhibition, demonstrating an America committed to war with its allies, and prosecuted by a “civil” man committed to maintaining a civilized anti-German world.

The pageantry of the fair offered its sponsoring organizations daily opportunities to engage in a patriotic outreach effort to Chicago and the Midwest on the objectives of the war. In the posters, art, singers and dancers, re-enactors, speeches, trophies and philanthropic displays, American “masculinities” emerged in the service of that mission. Exhibition organizers gendered the war’s objectives on display at the fair, “effectively embodied in the identity of the individual soldier as a national masculinity that attenuates masculinities of class, region, and ethnicity.”¹⁰ Discrimination and at times violence plagued Germans living in Illinois during the war. The State Council of Defense worked during the period with the American Protective League (APL) to observe German organizations and monitor their loyalty. Volunteer groups that worked with the government to sponsor the exhibition (members of the APL gave four minute speeches across the Chicago area advertising the event) created a culture in the state whereby “many Germans experienced nearly as extreme a form of racialized disadvantage as African Americans did in Georgia. In particular, they might be lynched merely for having a German surname.”¹¹ Illinois’ home front culture during the war constructed an ideal of manhood dependent on many factors--one’s ethnicity (race) especially; you could not be a “hyphenated” American.¹² The rhetoric of the

10, no. 2 (Fall, 1999): 307-352; Michael Willrich, “Home Slackers: Men, the State, and Welfare in Modern America,” *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 2 (September, 2000): 460-489.

⁹ For more on war, memory, and masculinity see Michael J. Lansing “Salvaging the Man Power of America’: Conservation, Manhood, and Disabled Veterans during World War I,” *Environmental History* 14, no. 1 (January, 2009): 32-57; Robert A. Nye “Kinship, Male Bonds, and Masculinity in Comparative Perspective,” *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (December, 2000): 1656-1666. Nye’s construction of masculinity as a synthesis of varied identities reflects constructions of gender in the historiography of the Great War, and this paper examines the nature of those masculinities at the exhibition. On masculinity, gender, and the Great War, see Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975); George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (1996); Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain, and the Great War* (1996); Nancy M. Wingfield and Maria Bucur, eds. *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.

¹⁰ Robert Nye, “Western Masculinities in War and Peace,” *American Historical Review*, 112, no. 2 (April, 2007): 417, accessed October 6, 2014, <http://www.ulib.niu.edu:2207/stable/4136608>.

¹¹ Gerald E. Shenk, “*Work or Fight!*” *Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 51.

¹² German-Americans, along with immigrant groups nationwide in 1917 faced a campaign to “remove the hyphen.” However, such groups did not dictate the terms of removal, and German Americans still faced daily discrimination. In the case of Robert Prager, a Collinsville, IL miner lynched in April, 1918,



Governor of Illinois “appealed to current ideals of racial purity, notions of women’s proper function in society,” and constructed masculinities for American men to embody, demonstrating an objective of the government’s collective war effort meant to denude Americans of their European racial or ethnic heritages (German especially).¹³ Through the platform of the exhibition and its sundry media, visitors to the exhibition saw war duties differentiated by gender and a masculinity that embodied a variety of images--virile, civil, and anti-German--for the American serviceman.

While this conversation with the public to convey “proper” patriotism and American manhood did not begin until entry in the war in April 1917, its start reflected the core conflicts in prewar society and demonstrated that Americans would need to assent to a vision of unity conveyed in many forms. Since the 1890s, progressives had given federal, state and local governmental authorities an increasingly activist approach to legislation. Americans grappled with immigration and nativists, ethnic and racial division, economic downturns, labor unrest, and periodic imperial conflicts (the Spanish American War of 1898) that furthered masculine ideals in the years before the Great War.¹⁴ Historian Christopher Capozzola argues that such themes articulated a spectrum of vigilance and vigilantism Americans already were familiar with when President Wilson called for a declaration of war on April 2, 1917.¹⁵ Wilson articulated his call for war in terms of reluctance, and historian David Kennedy notes many Americans did not feel a threat of “imminent peril of physical harm.”¹⁶ Couching the US effort in the rhetoric of progressivism and the necessity of unity in the cause of international peace, the President proclaimed “The world must be made safe for democracy,” and “we have no selfish ends to serve.”¹⁷ Wilson portrayed a civil collection of allies seeking to halt the expansion of a barbarian power.

civilians demonstrated the acceptability of communal violence to enforce the boundaries of American identity.

¹³ Shenk, 50.

¹⁴ Christopher Capozzola, “The Only Badge Needed Is Your Patriotic Fervor: Vigilance, Coercion, and the Law in World War I America,” *Journal of American History*, 88, no. 4 (March, 2002): 1357, accessed March 5 2015, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2700601>. For more on the prevalence of nativist responses to these categories, see John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (1963); John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (1987); James Barrett, *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City* (2013). For more on the connections between such imperial conflicts and masculinity in the U. S. and U. K. , see Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting For American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (1998); John Tosh, *A Man’s Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (1999).

¹⁵ Capozzola, 1357.

¹⁶ David Kennedy, *Over Here: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), 46.

¹⁷ President Woodrow Wilson, “Transcript of a Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany (1917),” <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=61&page=transcript>, accessed 10 April, 2015.



In order to halt that power however, federal authorities needed to work with state and local governments, and numerous voluntary organizations to “create a ‘correct’ public opinion in 1917-1918.”¹⁸ Created in Chicago in April 1917, the Committee of Public Information served President Wilson’s administration as its propaganda arm. Led by George Creel, it disseminated the administration’s war message through advertisements, artwork, posters, even a corps of public speakers known as the “Four Minute Men.” Its Division of Films sponsored the war exhibitions, and in Chicago worked with state and local officials, the State Council of Defense of Illinois, the American Protective League (APL) and branches of national and state aid organizations. Each group espoused the Wilson administration’s message of a conflict to preserve liberty against a savage enemy. The rhetoric of masculinity and manhood permeated the speeches of the Four Minute Men, and the government’s message of a war preserving an ideal America and its gender roles was displayed at the fair.¹⁹ A spectrum of prewar movements that had advocated “muscular Christianity” and an ideal male who reflected a Victorian image of medieval chivalry characterized the images on advertisements, posters, and overall exhibition experience.²⁰ Chivalry, constructed by Allen J. Frantzen in *Bloody Good*, took many forms. Sacrificial chivalry, for the nouveau knights of the allies engaged in its practice, involved “use of force as revenge for Christ’s death,” volunteering “to suffer,” and education.²¹ The images of the exhibition reflected an intersection between such sacrificial chivalry and George Mosse’s “hegemonic masculinity,” an ideal of masculinity “as of one piece from its very beginning: body and soul, outward appearance and inward virtue.”²² Soldiers, aid/reform societies, and public officials’ constructed an ideal of manhood as naturally polar—boyish yet virile, civil yet martial, American not German.

¹⁸ Kennedy, 46.

¹⁹ Ernest Palmer, “To All Four Minute Men,” undated, folder 517/025, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information Four Minute Men Scrapbooks, State of Illinois Archives.

²⁰ For more on “muscular Christianity,” and the continuity of prewar constructs of manhood to the war effort, see Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920* (2001); Jonathan Ebel, “The Great War, Religious Authority, and the American Fighting Man,” in *Church History* (March, 2009): 99-133. On masculine constructs, civility, and chivalry, see Allen J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War* (2004). On the conflict as a transformative event for western masculinity, see Michael Roper, “Between Manliness and Masculinity: The ‘War Generation’ and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950,” in *Journal of British Studies* (April 2005): 343-362. While the message of the exhibition was unity of effort, Ebel’s work asserts such unity amongst soldiers and reformers/aid workers in constructing wartime masculinity did not exist. Soldiers sought to define manhood on their terms, in spite of clergy and reformers.

²¹ Allen J. Frantzen, *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and The Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004), 77-78.

²² George Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 5.



“Of course, to make a perfectly good war of it, there must be Germans.”²³

Illinois’ responses to the outbreak of war in the summer of 1914 varied depending on community ethnicity and labor alliances, and anti-Germanism exploded after America’s entry in the war. A sizeable minority of Chicago’s two and a half million residents in 1914 identified as first or second-generation German immigrants (nearly 400,000), and communities of more than 100,000 Poles, Irish, Russians, Czechs and Serbs existed in the city.²⁴ Many first and second generation German immigrants actively supported the German war effort from the outset of the war until 1917, holding public rallies, raising aid funds, and offering volunteers for the German army and Republican mayor Bill Thompson “urged traditional American isolationism, the kind favored by his core of supporters in the Protestant middle class.”²⁵ Thompson supported a preparedness movement in the city during 1916, but his opposition to American troop deployment to France in 1917 garnered him widespread public disapproval with most of the city embracing the war.

Most municipal and state government officials in Illinois did not follow Thompson’s approach after entry in the war. Governor Frank Lowden created the State Council of Defense of Illinois to coordinate home front activities from aid organizations, state harvests, and social hygiene, to liberty loan drives. The State Council “was intended to be, The Government of Illinois in relation to all matters affecting the state and its citizens, directly or indirectly, in connection with support and prosecution of the war from every conceivable angle.”²⁶ While a single woman held a leadership position with the overall State Council, there was a separate Women’s Committee to coordinate home front programs related to women for the war and reinforce roles as dutiful housewives (ranging from educational outreach in homemaking activities to social hygiene exhibits and lectures—a thousand lectures between July 24-August 24, 1918).²⁷ The executive committee, based in Chicago and led by Samuel Insull coordinated statewide efforts, but county councils coordinated many local wartime efforts (sometimes with disastrous results). According to Tina Brakebill, the State Council worked within individual counties “to remedy this perceived lack of war enthusiasm,” and “acted as an agent for some of the larger national groups, such as the American Protective League.”²⁸ County councils responded to local dictates on the war, supporting anti-Germanism or anti-labor (IWW) efforts and vigilante citizens groups that forced citizens to

²³ “Nobody Loves a Fritzie! Chicago Lassies Scorn Even Make-believe Heinies at War Show,” 1.

²⁴ Dominic A. Pacyga, *Chicago: A Biography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 191.

²⁵ Pacyga, 192.

²⁶ Samuel Insull, “Samuel Insull and The State Council of Defense of Illinois in the World War of 1917-1918,” 1919, series 5-D, folder 19-5, Papers of Samuel Insull, Loyola University Chicago Archives, 2.

²⁷ Dr. Rochelle S. Yarros, Report of the Social Hygiene Committee, Original Minute Book From August 27, 1918 to November 5, 1918, August 27, 1918, 4. Book 9, Folder 517/018, State Council of Defense (WWI): Women’s Committee Minutes and Proceedings, April 23, 1917-January 10, 1920, State of Illinois Archives.

²⁸ Tina Brakebill, “From ‘German Days’ to ‘100 Percent Americanism’: McLean County, Illinois 1913-1918: German Americans, World War One, and One Community’s Reaction,” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 95, 2 (Summer, 2002): 158.



swear loyalty oaths publicly, and seeking to abolish the use of the German language in schools, churches or the press.²⁹

With the German offensives in the spring of 1918, and the resulting allied counterattacks that summer and fall, Illinois' war government agreed to the Committee of Public Information's efforts to host an Allied War Exhibition in the city of Chicago. Planning for the exhibition began in late July, with the beginning of the fair to coincide with Labor Day celebrations in the city.³⁰ In collaboration with Insull and the State Council, a local Citizens Committee put up initial funds of over \$125,000 for the exhibition, and donors from across Chicago's business community pledged funds.³¹ Eventual receipts of the fair totaled \$577,693. 24, with \$388,506. 65 in pre-exhibition ticket sales of 1,570,877 tickets.³² A further 255,132 tickets were purchased at the gates during the exhibition, and additional funds from boat excursions, meal tickets to a soldier's mess, parking, programs, and a French war photograph catalogue contributed to an operational profit of \$305,524. 11 after expenses.³³

Ticket sales took place across Chicago, available at post offices, businesses, and through the public schools. Twenty-five cents paid admission for one adult (or two children), and the organizers made discount tickets of fifteen cents available for "poor dependents" and to the Chicago Public Schools.³⁴ Daily events for ticket sales en masse occurred; as when the beef packers Armour & Company and Swift & Company used exhibition trucks and women as ticket hawkers to sell thousands. Covering the event, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* included a photograph of a fresh-faced young soldier, J. Ogden Armour, and three "war dogs" named Medusa, Terval, and Vulcan to convey the martial nature of the upcoming fair.³⁵ In a separate story, the paper highlighted the efforts of the

²⁹ On coercive patriotism in Illinois, Brakebill and Dechenne point out the role of the State Council as a conduit for disseminating the mission of the war to the public, but reflecting and facilitating the violation of civil liberties and the use of violence against suspected IWW members or would be German-Americans.

³⁰ George Creel, Chairman Committee of Public Information, Letter to Samuel Insull, State Council of Defense of Illinois, July 27, 1918, series 16, folder 87-1, Correspondence of Chairman SI, 1918, Papers of Samuel Insull, Loyola University Chicago Archives.

³¹ Samuel Insull, Chairman of State Council of Defense of Illinois, Letter to George Creel, Chairman, Committee of Public Information, August 1, 1918, series 16, folder 87-1, Correspondence of Chairman SI, 1918, Papers of Samuel Insull, Loyola University Chicago Archives.

³² Arthur Young and Company, Statement of Receipts and Disbursements to October 23, 1918, United States Government War Exposition, 1, series 16, folder 87-6 U. S. Government War Exposition in Chicago-Guarantors, 1918, Loyola University Archives. (hereafter cited as Arthur Young and Company, Statement of Receipts).

³³ Arthur Young and Company, Statement of Receipts, 2-4. The French catalogue corresponded with an exhibit of war photographs held at the Art Institute simultaneous to the exhibition.

³⁴ Arthur Young and Company, Statement of Receipts, 2.

³⁵ "Dogs of War Are Unleashed: J. Ogden Armour Frees Famed Canines Which Will Serve in the Drive for War Exposition Tickets," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 28, 1918, 3. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174395215?accountid=1977>, accessed 13 January, 2015.



foreign language press in the city to support ticket purchases and the exposition.³⁶ Highlighting “tenacious England with hard hitting Canada, indomitable France, spectacular Italy, and martyred Belgium,” the rhetoric in support of the event drew on themes of innocence and unity in the face of the “Hun.”³⁷

“ALL MEN must harken to my message ... My appeal inspired the Great Crusade ... I breath the flame of true American Patriotism ... I am a Soldier ... I am the Mouthpiece of Democracy ... I am a Four-Minute Man.”³⁸

Backed by its gendered creed that advocated a chivalric link between crusading and 20th century democracy, the “Four Minute Men” advertised for the exhibition throughout Chicago. According to its own postwar history, the “Four Minute Men” originated in Chicago in the march towards war in March-April, 1917. Led by Donald M. Ryerson and supported by Senator Medill McCormick, the group wanted to “send speakers to motion picture theatres to urge upon the public an appreciation of the importance of military preparedness.”³⁹ Folded into the US government’s Committee of Public Information on June 16, 1917, the organization claims its speakers provided over 750,000 speeches during the war—on numerous topics nationwide.⁴⁰ The Chicago branch operated on local funds, and worked in concert with the State Council of Defense of Illinois to project the message of the war.

Speaking topics were directed nationally and distributed across the country to each branch for use. “Four Minute Men” applied for the volunteer position, and went through an evaluation process. Speakers were taught to keep to four minutes, and “speak with earnest conviction” while recognizing “you are the Government’s man; speak as if with this backing.”⁴¹ During the period of the exhibition, national speech topics were “Where Did You Get Your Facts?” and “Register,” an exhortation on Selective Service.⁴² In the period leading to the fair however, they incorporated attendance at the fair as part of the exhortation of patriotic duties they provided to Chicagoans. George R. Jones, a Chicago branch leader in July 1918, was invited by State Council Chairman

³⁶ “War Exhibition Ticket Campaign Off with Rush,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 18, 1918, C5. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174388794?accountid=1977>, accessed 13 January, 2015.

³⁷ Ibid., C5.

³⁸ Fred A. Wirth, “The Part of the Four Minute Man,” in *The Four Minute Men of Chicago*, ed. The History Committee of the Four Minute Men. (Four Minute Men of Chicago: Chicago, 1919), 24-25.

³⁹ History Committee of the Four Minute Men, *The Four Minute Men Of Chicago* (Four Minute Men: Chicago, 1919); 11.

⁴⁰ History Committee, *The Four Minute Men*, 7.

⁴¹ R. L. Lyman, “Seven Characteristics of An Effective Four Minute Speech,” *The Four Minute Men of Chicago*; 8, folder 517/025, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information Four-Minute Men Scrapbooks, 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

⁴² History Committee, *The Four Minute Men*, 17.



Samuel Insull to serve on the local War Exposition Committee.⁴³ Four Minute Men included information on the exhibition with their bulletin speech on “Where Did You Get Your Facts,” imploring attendance at the fair.⁴⁴ The bulletin’s rhetoric offered instruction on forms of German propaganda, and the benefits of rumor avoidance. Counseling the public on vigilance against Germans and German culture in American society and playing on the gendered nature of the war, it dispelled a rumor that the U. S. engaged in “drafting of ‘dancing partners’ for the soldiers in training,” and confirmed “Germans have acted as leaders in Sunday school and Bible classes, with the sole intent of sowing dissension.”⁴⁵ The Chicago branch estimated that at the end of the war, they had reached an estimated 25,000,000 people with 50,000 speeches and 451 speakers at countless venues.⁴⁶

With the opening of the exhibition September 1918, the Four Minute Men shifted their focus to incorporate the new topic of selective service registration. Proclaiming the war a gendered struggle between the manhood of nations and arguing that American men would voluntarily register for the draft (unlike Prussia), the new bulletin noted “the manhood and practical sense of American citizenship is now going to match itself against the Prussian military detective system.”⁴⁷ In service of advertising the war exhibition and the government’s war mission, the Four Minute Men actively characterized the civic duty of American citizens during the Great War through a gendered lens—patriotism’s cheerleaders, they constructed an ideal innocent American male. He was devoid of Germanness, and on display for the Midwestern viewing public at the fair.

⁴³ Samuel Insull to George R. Jones, July 20 1918, file 517/026, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information Four-Minute Men Bulletins, 1917-1918 State of Illinois Archives.

⁴⁴ Ernest Palmer to Four Minute Men of Chicago, August 1918, folder 517/025, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information Four-Minute Men Scrapbooks, 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

⁴⁵ William McCormick Blair, Four Minute Men. “Where Did You Get Your Facts? Bulletin 35” Government Printing Office, Washington, 1918; 2-3, folder 517/025, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information Four-Minute Men Scrapbooks, 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

⁴⁶ History Committee, *The Four Minute Men*, 20.

⁴⁷ William McCormick Blair, Committee of Public Information, Four Minute Men. “Register: National Registration Day, Bulletin 37.” Government Printing Office: Washington D.C., 1918; 8, folder 517/025, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information Four-Minute Men Scrapbooks, 1918, State of Illinois Archives.



Newspapers like the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, along with the *Chicago Daily News* and other dailies in the city represented a key advertising platform for the exhibitors. Along with the speeches of the Four Minute Men, the rhetoric and images of the papers before and during the exhibition reinforced to the public the German savage “ideal,” and the civil/chivalrous yet virile American manhood ready for war. “If you can once get yourself around to the point of view of the Prussian mind you will have no qualms about tossing a bomb into an orphan asylum on your way home from church.”⁴⁸ A chivalrous American could not conceive of such an act.

In an article titled “Hun Kultur and American Antidote” on September 1st, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* included photographs of preparation for the exhibition that reflect the many masculinities of the allied war mission. One with a subtitle of “Youthful Patriot with Signal Gun” featured a young boy named Harold LaRue dressed in a Navy Uniform, looking ready to fire the weapon.⁴⁹ Another featured a church cross from Revigny, France. “Desecrated by Germans,” and surrounded by youthful looking American sailors, the image of the damaged cavalry suggests the mission of American men in the war as necessary to prevent such atrocities from occurring further.⁵⁰ Reflecting the veneration for youth, male camaraderie and discipline of the chivalry movement in the years before the war, the image supports Allen J. Frantzen’s definition of chivalry as a process that exists in many forms, of which the anti-sacrificial variety “seeks to bring the cycle of violence to a halt,” and is evident in the photograph.⁵¹

When a bomb exploded at the federal building on September 4th, two days after the exhibition’s opening, the press seized on the event with by now established anti-German and anti-International Workers of the World (IWW) tropes. Suggesting blame lay with the IWW, the *Chicago Daily*



Figure 1. “Hun Kultur and American Antidote,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 1, 1918, 3.

⁴⁸ Frank Crane, “The Prussian Mind. How it Has Driven a Nation Mad,” *Chicago Daily News*, September 6, 1918, 8.

⁴⁹ “Hun Kultur and American Antidote,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 1 1918, 3. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174371700?accountid=1977>. Accessed 8 May, 2015.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁵¹ Frantzen, 3.



News also included a cartoon on page one the next day titled “The Enemy at Home.”⁵² It depicted someone climbing in a window in a brick wall, with “Loyal America” emblazoned on the wall, “Anti-American” on their suit, a blue star in the window, and a bomb in their brutish left hand.⁵³ One story from September 3, 1918, lamented the failure of the Chicago Public School District to fully end the teaching of German, and school curricula now embraced preparation for war according to prescribed gender roles. “Vocal drills for boys will give way to drills with guns. Color studies for girls will be replaced by practice in making doughnuts and coffee.”⁵⁴ “Militant Mary” appeared as a cartoon figure, prim with glasses and lecturing “I will not purchase German goods when this mad conflict’s O’ER. No cash of mind shall help the HUNS TO PLAN ANOTHER WAR!”⁵⁵ Such cartoons and anti-German rhetoric reinforced the State Council of Defense’s mission of a civil, loyal man and industrious woman doing their duty for America.

“It is an exhibition planned to interest and educate, and, we hope, to inspire.”⁵⁶

Intended as “inspiring” images for the fair, war exposition posters played on themes of battle, loss of innocence in war, and the angelic phoenix emerging. “THOUSANDS of GERMAN TROPHIES FROM THE FRONT at the US GOV’T WAR EXPOSITION” offered attendees the thrill of viewing “ACTUAL Army and Navy Battles, Tanks in Action, Flying Battle Planes, Trench Warfare, Captured German Aeroplanes and Guns” while showing a drawing of a young soldier with a cigarette, sitting and holding a German helmet.⁵⁷ The soldier looks longingly to one side

⁵² “The Enemy at Home,” *Chicago Daily News*, September 6, 1918, 1.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁵⁴ “Schools Reopened; German Class Back: Board’s Failure to Act Leaves Teaching of Language Undisturbed,” *Chicago Daily News*, September 3, 1918, 3.

⁵⁵ E. FitzHugh, “Militant Mary,” *Chicago Daily News*, September 9 1918, 11.

⁵⁶ Samuel Insull, “Opening of War Exposition,” September 2, 1918, 1, series 6, folder 20-5, Papers of Samuel Insull, Loyola University Chicago Archives.

⁵⁷ Poster Image, “Thousands of German War Trophies from the Front at the US Gov’t War Exposition,” poster image, file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens’ Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives. (hereafter cited as “Thousands of German War Trophies”).



amidst the material of war, with “HOW THE MIGHTY HAVE FALLEN” written across the bottom of the poster.⁵⁸

“See Our Boys in Action at the U. S. Government WAR Exposition” shows three well supplied soldiers manning a machine gun post, helmets and gun gleaming, poised for combat.⁵⁹ In a poster with no clear title, just “U. S. Government WAR EXPOSITION” along the foot of the image, an angel rises looking upward from the fire of the tools of modern warfare.⁶⁰ The posters conveyed haughty American manhood experiencing war’s transformative nature. Gendered newspaper rhetoric, image advertisements in the press, and posters fair-goers encountered collectively reinforced masculinity as martial, chivalrous and not German in wartime.

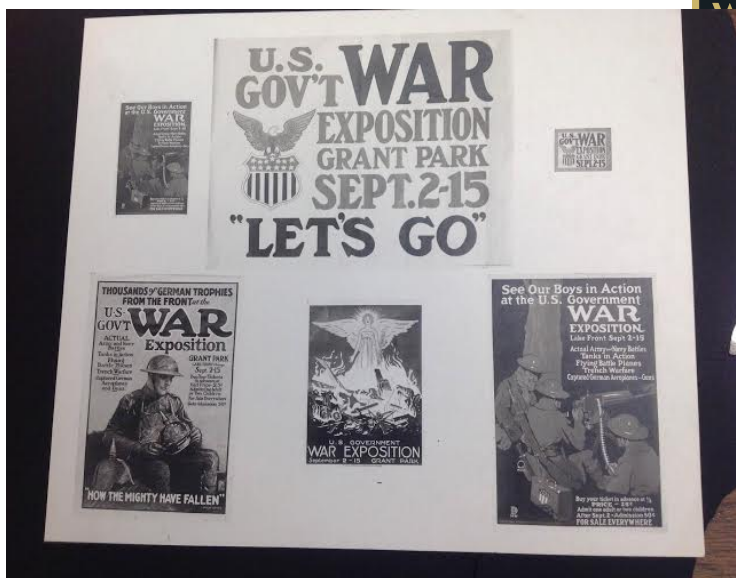


Figure 2. Poster images, file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens' Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

Chicagoans immersed themselves in marches and celebrations for the war effort on September 2, 1918, the day the exhibition opened to the public. It coincided with the city’s Labor Day activities, and a grand labor parade down Michigan Avenue next to the fair occurred—with an estimated 250,000 people participating as marchers or spectators.⁶¹ A 1,300 piece band played patriotic music for the unveiling of a giant memorial arch near Michigan and Monroe Avenues, an experience the *Chicago Daily Journal*’s coverage noted caused a woman to faint but demonstrated Chicago’s unity in the war “to a man.”⁶² Parade spectators could then head to the exhibition grounds in and around Grant Park (east of Michigan Avenue and overlooking the lake), where a wealth of war ephemera awaited them. After passing through one of the entryways, visitors encountered a scene designed to place them in either a vigilant America preparing for war (complete with a mock soldier’s mess hall, soldier’s camp, and a towering replica of the Statue of

⁵⁸ “Thousands of German War Trophies”

⁵⁹ Poster Image, “See Our Boys in Action at the U. S. Government WAR Exposition,” file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens’ Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

⁶⁰ Poster Image, “U. S. Government WAR EXPOSITION,” poster image, file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens’ Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

⁶¹ “‘Win the War’ Is Import of Labor Parade,” *Chicago Daily Journal*, September 2 1918, 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1.



Liberty), or a conceptualized France through a “no-man’s land” and war relics. Using rail to transport the war trophies, “seventeen carloads of it at least,” from “wherever the rugged fighters met the Hun” immersed visitors in the ephemera of the war.⁶³ In surveying the breadth of “trophies” and “booty,” the *Chicago Daily Tribune* remarked on the French shrine to be displayed “remembering their beloved cathedral of Reims,” and firmly placed the conflict in chivalric tones.⁶⁴ Thus, the efforts reflected the government’s gendered war mission in a transnational conflict seeking through the exhibition to excite the public to its “civilizing” mission.

Attendees could purchase programs or a souvenir collection of war photography selected from an ongoing exhibit of French war art and Italian photography at the Art Institute (a ticket to the war exhibition included admission to the Art Institute’s collection).⁶⁵ A long series of exhibit halls dominated the Western areas of the exhibition, each for the allied nations participating (Belgium, France, Britain, Canada, and Italy) with the American armed forces, government and volunteer organizations that aided in the war effort. These organizations included the Commission on Training Camp Activities, the YMCA and YWCA, the American Red Cross, the Liberty Loan Committee, the War Recreation Board of Illinois, the National War Savings Committee, the Illinois Tuberculosis Association, the Woman’s Committee Council of National Defense, the U. S. Food Administration, the Knights of Columbus, the Fort Sheridan Association, the Western Relief Fund, the American Fund for French Wounded the Fatherless Children of France, the Daughters of British Empire War Relief, and the Salvation Army.⁶⁶ The State Council of Defense of Illinois operated the exhibition under the aegis of the Chicago organizing committee. Branches of the Committee of Public Information, Women’s State Council of Defense, American Protective League, and other agencies (government or auxiliary) also attended the event. The center of the exhibition grounds resembled a “no-man’s land” in miniature, with the ground built up around it to provide a viewing area for daily reenactments. Southern areas of the exhibition grounds provided bivouac for soldiers participating in the exhibition, and parking for spectators. The southwest portion of the grounds contained a pavilion known as the “Liberty Forum” for speeches and concert performances near a statue of an angel in a ship’s bow armed with a sword in one hand and a dove in the other.⁶⁷ The statute symbolized the justice of the allied cause through a feminine

⁶³ Charles Lee Bryson “Chicago to Have Most Complete War Exhibition,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 4, 1918, D3. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174452520?accountid=1977>. Accessed 13 January 2015.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ United States Government War Exposition, “Labor Day: Program for September 2, US Government War Exposition Chicago,” September 2 1918, United States Government War Exposition Photograph Album, Research Center, Chicago History Museum.

⁶⁶ United States and Allied Governments War Exposition, *Souvenir Program U. S. Government War Exhibition: Sept. 2-15, Lake Front, Chicago* (Washington, D.C.: Committee on Public Information, Division of Films, 1918) (Chicago: Poole Bros.), 26-9. Newberry Library. (hereafter cited as United States and Allied Governments War Exposition, *Souvenir Program*).

⁶⁷ Photo Album Image, file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens’ Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives.



angel, yet also the duality of America's image of its own war efforts as the statue is depicted gliding across a body of water flanked by two more angelic figures kneeling—one with its outstretched hand downwards to suggest aid.⁶⁸ The spatial experience constructed by the exhibition organizers intended to overwhelm their visitors in their projection of this gendered war effort.

Each day of the exhibition offered spectators a bevy of tours and reenactments, along with a variety of participatory experiences around a common theme—many of which linked civilians directly to the war effort, and reflected the gendered nature of the allied mission. Opening day of the exhibition began at 12pm, after the



Figure 3. "One of the Statues U. S. Govt War Exposition," file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens' Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

Labor Day festivities, and included a community sing, band concerts, tours of exhibit halls, an afternoon and evening reenactment, and a speech from Simon O'Donnell (in charge of the Labor Day parade).⁶⁹ Speaking at the opening, Samuel Insull noted the exhibition represented "the brutality and destructiveness of war waged by a ruthless conscienceless nation, thereby compelling better peoples to emulate their destructiveness."⁷⁰ For Insull, the "better peoples" of the U. S. , its allies, and their advocates in the form of government, auxiliary, and volunteer organizations were not naturally violent. Nations of "conscience" were compelled to war and the exhibitors projected this duality. In an image from the opening day of the exhibition titled "A Pageant of All Nations," the allies take the form of young women or boys— some holding flags, and dressed in a variety of ethnic ensembles standing in a pyramid at the base of the replica Statue of Liberty.⁷¹ The pyramid, capped by a youthful and innocent American soldier and sailor with a feminine figure of justice

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ United States Government War Exposition, "Labor Day: Program for September 2, US Government War Exposition Chicago," September 2 1918, United States Government War Exposition Photograph Album, Research Center, Chicago History Museum.

⁷⁰ Insull, "Mr Insull, Opening of War Exposition, September 2, 1918," 1-2.

⁷¹ "A Pageant of All Nations," file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens' Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives.



in-between, signifies the nature of the allied war mission—youth at a war not of their choosing, nations represented in feminine figures offering innocent men in their defense.

Following the opening, the exhibition offered days devoted to the major participating allies, and core themes of the war effort. On Children's Day, the exhibition featured a special parade of children (some in baby carriages), organized by their families' connections to military service.⁷² Major allies typically sent diplomatic or military envoys who spoke on their day, and musical performances centered around specific nations.



Figure 4. "A Pageant of All Nations," file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens' Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, State of Illinois Archives.

September 3rd, Belgian Day, included speeches from diplomatic minister E. de Cartier de Marchienne, a Belgian envoy; and Belgian Major Leon Osterrieth.⁷³ They praised the American effort in the war, and the next day visitors witnessed aerial combat reenactments overhead from U. S. military pilots and the International "Flying Circus."⁷⁴ British day included speeches from Geoffrey Butler (Director of the British Information Bureau) and Lord Reading (Britain's U. S. Ambassador). Each cemented the relationship between the U. S. and Britain in their speeches, with Butler noting "that the Declaration of Independence 'has been adopted into the British Constitution'."⁷⁵

French Day coincided with the anniversary of the Marquis de Lafayette's birthday, and featured a poetry reading that highlighted the gendered nature of the war. The *Chicago Daily News* included a photograph of a French "High Commission" of officers and the French Consul M.A.

⁷² Helen Wethrell, "Women's Varied War Duties," *Chicago Daily Journal*, September 9 1918, 11.

⁷³ United States Government War Exposition, "Program for September 3, US Government War Exposition Chicago," September 3 1918, United States Government War Exposition Photograph Album, Research Center, Chicago History Museum.

⁷⁴ "'Battles' in Air Will Thrill War Exposition Crowd Today," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 4 1918, 3. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174397798?accountid=1977>. Accessed 8 May, 2015.

⁷⁵ "War Show Talk Links Britain and U.S. Closer: Geoffrey Butler Declares Union of Two Peoples Must Never End," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 5 1918, 17. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174416145?accountid=1977>. Accessed 8 May, 2015.



Barthelmy.⁷⁶ The *Chicago Daily Journal* described “girls gathered en masse” not for one of the day’s speakers, William Jennings Bryan, but besmitten by the Legion of Honor on the chest of twenty-three year old French Lieutenant Marcel Levie, a wounded combat veteran and former prisoner of war.⁷⁷ The admiration for Levie shows the desire to construct such a masculine glory across the boundaries of the allied nations against Germany. The day included constant singing of “La Marseillaise,” and the paper noted public admiration for French officers—soldiers of America’s “most dramatic ally.”⁷⁸ Scheduled just after 2pm, a reading of Dr. Henry Van Dyke’s “The Name of France” contextualized the mission of the war in a tone of chivalric masculinity. Read by Donald Robertson, the poem highlighted France’s leadership

of the human race to win its way
From the feudal darkness into the day
Of Freedom, Brotherhood, Equal Right...
A name that speaks of the blood outpoured
To Save mankind from the sway of the sword—
A name that calls on the world to share
In the burden of sacrificial strife.⁷⁹

Van Dyke’s words reflect the forms of chivalry within the mission of the war for the allies, and one of the versions of masculinity on display at the exhibition. Coupled with a host of images (including the desecrated cavalry) and Frantzen’s conceptualization of the sacrificial nature of some chivalric responses, visitors to the fair saw an allied war effort of culturally ennobled 20th century “knights” arising to righteous service against a barbaric German foe.

Speaking at Canada Day on September 10, 1918 Samuel Insull placed the service of the Canadians in line with the gendered themes of the overall allied war mission. Stressing the voluntarism of a nation that committed to the war before asked by Great Britain, Insull painted a gendered rhetorical portrait of a U. S. neighbor doing more than its part in the conflict. A nation built in wilderness, he noted that “the able bodied Canadians have gone to the war and the weak and the women are carrying on the struggle, uncomplainingly, at home.”⁸⁰ Insull and the exhibitors projected an image of necessary and industrious women, but mostly bordered by the home front in their ability to serve unless with an organization like the Red Cross. Over 100,000 spectators turned out on Red Cross Day, which featured a parade of more than 12,000 Red Cross workers (the *Chicago Daily Tribune*’s photo covering the exhibition that day included two innocent and young-looking women

⁷⁶ “French High Commission Here,” *Chicago Daily News*, September 6 1918, 3.

⁷⁷ “Today’s Programs at War Exposition,” *Chicago Daily Journal*, September 3 1918; 4.

⁷⁸ “French are Heroes of Day at War Fair,” *Chicago Daily News*, September 6 1918, 3.

⁷⁹ Dr. Henry Van Dyke, “The Name of France.” https://archive.org/details/name_of_france_librivox, accessed 18 April 2015.

⁸⁰ Samuel Insull, “*War Show September 10, 1918*,” September 10 1918, series 6, folder 20-5, Papers of Samuel Insull, Loyola University Chicago Archives, 3.



as Red Cross workers).⁸¹ News of American success in the St. Mihiel salient dominated coverage of Pershing Day (September 13th) at the exhibition. Speaking at the event, General Pershing's brother James noted according to the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, "'When heaven gets ready to make peace with hell, then it's time for us to begin making peace with Germany.'"⁸² The paper's coverage of the day included a photo of a resolute James Pershing with two young girls who marched in a parade at the exhibition, holding a banner with a star titled "Fathers in Service."⁸³ On All-America Day (September 15th), the program featured folk songs, dancing, and speeches from contingents of Lithuanians, Lettonians (Latvians) Poles, Russians and Ukrainians. Most evenings featured films in no man's land, but All-America day included a "Living Picture" from the Foreign Language Division of the Liberty Loan Committee titled "The Nations of the Earth Paying Homage to Liberty."⁸⁴ With the use of "homage" marking the reliance on feudal rhetoric, the picture represented another manner in which the exhibitors sought to define the mission of their war in chivalric terms.

The exhibit halls for the volunteer organizations and government auxiliary agencies offered opportunities for these groups to project an image of support for the war mission placed firmly in gendered terms of men volunteering to fight and women aiding their effort at home and abroad. The military's Commissions on Training Camp Activities incorporated work from the YMCA, Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, American Library Association, YWCA, and War Camp Community Service. At the Commissions exhibit, a frieze from artist Willy Pogany titled "The Spirit of the Commissions" hung. It "portrayed America as a beautiful young woman sending out a soldier with fixed bayonet and a sailor carrying a magnificent flag—fit to fight for the freedom of the world."⁸⁵ That fitness, according to the Commissions, improved measurably by the environment they provided for soldiers and sailors in new camps for the war. Visitors entered a model of a Mexican town, designed to replicate the perceived immoral social position men faced while on the Punitive Expedition to Mexico in 1916. Passing through the model to examples of current accommodations soldiers and sailors had, the goal "to surround the men with an environment clean, wholesome and inspiring" occurred.⁸⁶ Visitors could eat in a military mess, view a Liberty Theater, see a camp library, athletic facilities, and club rooms for letter writing.

⁸¹ "Nurses Parade on Red Cross Day at the War Exposition," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 6 1918, 3. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174421077?accountid=1977>. Accessed 8 May, 2015.

⁸² "Yanks in France Make Music for Pershing Day: Friday the Thirteenth for Huns' Celebrated at War Show," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 14 1918, 3. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174441359?accountid=1977>. Accessed 8 May, 2015.

⁸³ "Daughters of Stars," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 14 1918, 3. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174441359?accountid=1977>. Accessed 8 May, 2015.

⁸⁴ United States Government War Exposition, "All America Day Program for September 15, US Government War Exposition Chicago," September 15 1918, United States Government War Exposition Photograph Album, Research Center, Chicago History Museum.

⁸⁵ "Untitled," *Chicago Daily Journal*; August 31, 1918, 3.

⁸⁶ United States and Allied Governments War Exposition, *Souvenir Program*, 26.



With hostess houses to provide “for the soldier’s visiting mother, sister, wife or sweetheart,” the Commissions felt they properly aided a new model army of men “untainted by vice or liquor.”⁸⁷ Such Commission models demonstrate the manner in which organizers of the exhibition presented America and the allies as gendered societies immersed in a Great War. Wholesome men served on the battlefield for civilization, women acted to facilitate their innocence.

Viewed against the fair’s many evident masculinities, roles constructed for women emphasized voluntarism, and either service to the process of sending men to war, or acting industriously to preserve the home front. In a Salvation Army dugout with a sign “Soldier’s Rest Room” across it, a woman pours what appears to be coffee in a fresh-faced soldier’s mug while another soldier holds a plate of donuts and looks on.⁸⁸ A local Khaki and Blue Club worked with the Camp Commissions to host dances for soldiers and sailors, and coordinate with Soldiers and Sailors clubs in the Chicagoland area. Women’s clubs in Chicago in September 1918 announced a new initiative to create a cohort of young hostesses available for such dances. Restricted to women already in volunteer organizations (such as the YWCA) and over eighteen years old, they were “required to take a pledge ‘to treat every young man in the uniform of the United States as a brother in the service, to honor him for his gift to his country, and not to lower his ideal of womanhood by frivolous or insincere conduct.’”⁸⁹ Manhood at the exhibition thus linked with womanhood by association: women must preserve the expected social ideal to appropriately “honor” the service of men and maintain men’s “fitness” for war. As a component of that “fitness,” the U. S. Food Administration and the Women’s Committee of the State Council of Defense of Illinois had a joint exhibit of a model kitchen to demonstrate proper conservation efforts during the war in the household.⁹⁰ Industrious canning and refashioning of clothing efforts projected women’s commitment to preserving the gendered household ideal in wartime, an ideal that called men to service in the public sphere.

Over 100,000 people turned out daily to witness the exhibition from September 2-15, 1918 and its efforts to excite citizen morale behind the war succeeded, but did not constitute the only goal. The Chicago Citizens Committee and State Council of Defense of Illinois worked in collaboration with the U. S. military, federal agencies, voluntary organizations, and government/military contingents from Great Britain, Canada, France, Belgium and Italy to put on the event. It featured reenactments, performances, exhibit halls of relics and trophies of war, and demonstrations of the missions of a variety of organizations committed to allied victory. A victory of civilization over barbarism, liberty and Christianity over “kultur,” and innocence over savagery—the organizers placed the war in overtly masculine terms, constructed daily through the ephemera of the

⁸⁷ Ibid., 26.

⁸⁸ Photo Image, file 517/028, State Council of Defense (WWI): Committee on Public Information/Special Citizens’ Committee of Chicago Photo Album, September 2 1918, Illinois State Archives.

⁸⁹ “News of the Chicago Women’s Clubs: Women in Wartime,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 1, 1918, C6.

⁹⁰ Lucy Calhoun, “Women in Wartime,” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 3 1918, 14. <http://0-search.proquest.com.library.morainevalley.edu/docview/174439073?accountid=1977>. Accessed 8 May, 2015.



exhibition. That masculinity took many forms, reflecting the chivalric nature of the allies' view of the war. American soldiers existed as innocents; virile certainly, but thrust into a war and willing to sacrifice for civilization. War's violence did not hold glory for the Americans engaged in it—the act of participating in the service of that effort constituted both a glorious and masculine act. For the “fritzies” of the exhibition's reenactments, voluntary sacrifice for the nation (and civilization) in battle remained the only avenue for them to reclaim their masculinity in a state that could not equate it with Germanness.



Works Cited

Archival Materials

- Samuel Insull Papers. Series 16: State Council of Defense of Illinois, 1917-1918. Loyola University Chicago Library. University Archives and Special Collections. Chicago, IL.
- United States and Allied Governments War Exposition. *Souvenir Program, U. S. Government War Exposition: Sept. 2 to 15, Lake Front*. Chicago: Poole Bros, 1918. Newberry Library. Chicago, IL.
- United States, Committee on Public Information, Division of Four Minute Men, Chicago Branch. *The Four Minute Men*. Chicago: History Committee of the Four Minute Men, 1919. Newberry Library. Chicago, IL.
- United States Government War Exposition, United States Government War Exposition Photograph Album (September 2-15, 1918). Research Center. Chicago History Museum. Chicago, IL.
- State Council of Defense of Illinois (WWI) Collection, 517. State of Illinois Archives. Springfield, IL.

Newspaper Collections

- Chicago Daily News*, August-September 1918. Chicago Public Library, Newspaper Collections, Microfilm Archives at Harold Washington Center, Chicago, IL.
- Chicago Journal*, August-September 1918. Chicago Public Library, Newspaper Collections, Microfilm Archives at Harold Washington Center, Chicago, IL.
- Chicago Daily Tribune*, August-September 1918. Moraine Valley Community College Library, Palos Hills, IL.

Published sources

- Barrett, James. *The Irish Way: Becoming American in the Multiethnic City*. New York: Penguin Press, 2013.
- Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- _____. *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987.
- Bourke, Joanna. *Dismembering the Male: Men's Bodies, Britain, and the Great War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Brakebill, Tina Stewart. "From 'German Days' to '100 Percent Americanism': McLean County, Illinois 1913-1918: German Americans, World War One, and One Community's Reaction." *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 95, no. 2 (Summer, 2002): 148-171. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40193520>.



- Brewer, Susan A. *Why America Fights: Patriotism and War Propaganda from the Philippines to Iraq*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Capozzola, Christopher. "The Only Badge Needed Is Your Patriotic Fervor: Vigilance, Coercion, and the Law in World War I America." *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (March, 2002): 1354-1382. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2700601>.
- _____. *Uncle Sam Wants You: World War I and the Making of the Modern American Citizen*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Dechenne, David. "Recipe for Violence: War Attitudes, the Black Hundred Riot, and Superpatriotism in an Illinois Coalfield, 1917-1918." *Illinois Historical Journal* 85, no. 4 (Winter, 1992): 221-238. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.ulib.niu.edu:2207/stable/40192899>.
- Ebel, Jonathan. "The Great War, Religious Authority, and the American Fighting Man." *Church History* 78, no. 1 (March, 2009): 99-133. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20618649>.
- Frantzen, Allen J. *Bloody Good: Chivalry, Sacrifice, and the Great War*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2004.
- Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. London: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Gross, Stephen J. " 'Perils of Prussianism': Main Street German America, Local Autonomy, and the Great War." *Agricultural History* 78, no. 1 (Winter, 2004): 78-116. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3745091>.
- Guterl, Matthew Pratt. "The New Race Consciousness: Race, Nation, and Empire in American Culture, 1910-1925." *Journal of World History* 10, no. 2 (Fall, 1999): 307-352. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20078783>.
- Habib, Douglas F. "Chastity, Masculinity, and Military Efficiency: The United States Army in Germany, 1918-1923." *The International History Review* 28, no. 4 (December, 2006): 737-757. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40109812>.
- Higham, John. *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925*. Rutgers, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1988.
- Hoganson, Kristin. *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998.
- Keegan, John. *The First World War*. New York: Alfred Knopf, 1999.
- Keene, Jennifer D. *Doughboys, the Great War, and the Remaking of America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- Kennedy, David M. *Over Here: The First World War and American Society*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Lansing, Michael J. " 'Salvaging the Man Power of America': Conservation, Manhood, and Disabled Veterans during World War I." *Environmental History* 14, no. 1 (January, 2009): 32-57. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25473327>.



- Mills, Bill. *The League: The True Story of Average Americans on the Hunt for WWI Spies*. New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2013.
- Mosse, George L. *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Nye, Robert A. "Kinship, Male Bonds, and Masculinity in Comparative Perspective." *The American Historical Review* 105, no. 5 (December, 2000): 1656-1666. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2652036>.
- _____. "Western Masculinities in War and Peace." *American Historical Review* 112, no. 2 (April, 2007): 417-438. Accessed October 6, 2014. <http://www.ulib.niu.edu:2207/stable/4136608>.
- Pacyga, Dominic A. *Chicago: A Biography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009.
- Pearl, James, ed. *Picture This: World War One Posters and Visual Culture*. Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Putney, Clifford. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001.
- Roper, Michael. "Between Manliness and Masculinity: The 'War Generation' and the Psychology of Fear in Britain, 1914-1950." *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (April 2005): 343-362. Accessed May 6, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/427130>.
- Saunders, Nicholas J. "Crucifix, Calvary, and Cross: Materiality and Spirituality in Great War Landscapes." *World Archaeology* 35, no. 1 (June, 2003): 7-21. Accessed February 19, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3560209>.
- Shaffer, Ronald. *America in the Great War: The Rise of the War Welfare State*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Shenk, Gerald E. *"Work or Fight!" Race, Gender, and the Draft in World War One*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Tosh, John. *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999.
- Van Dyke, Henry "The Name of France," online at https://archive.org/details/name_of_france/librivox; accessed 18 April 2015.
- Willrich, Michael. "Home Slackers: Men, the State, and Welfare in Modern America." *The Journal of American History* 87, no. 2 (September, 2000): 460-489. Accessed March 5, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2568760>.
- Wilson, Woodrow, "Transcript of a Joint Address to Congress Leading to a Declaration of War Against Germany (1917)," online at <http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=61&page=transcript>, accessed 10 April, 2015.
- Wingfield, Nancy M. and Maria Bucur, eds. *Gender and War in Twentieth-Century Eastern Europe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006.